

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: NA

TAGS: PINT, GW

SUBJ: STRAUSS ANALYZES ELECTION RESULTS, SETS FORTH CSU STRATEGY

1. SUMMARY: CSU CHAIRMAN STRAUSS HAS ISSUED STATEMENT ANALYZING REASONS FOR CDU/CSU DEFEAT IN OCTOBER 3 BUNDESTAG ELECTIONS AND OUTLINING GENERAL STRATEGY HE BELIEVES CDU AND CSU MUST FOLLOW IF THEY ARE TO COME TO POWER. HE CONTINUES TO ADVOCATE CONFRONTATION WITH PRESENT FDP LEADERSHIP AND NO CDU/FDP COALITION ON LAENDER LEVEL WHICH WOULD RESULT IN LOSS OF CDU/CSU MAJORITY IN BUNDESTAG. END SUMMARY.

2. OCTOBER 16 ISSUE OF CSU ORGAN "BAYERN DURIER" CARRIES FRONT PAGE ARTICLE ON OCTOBER 3 BUNDESTAG ELECTIONS BY CSU CHAIRMAN FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS ENTITLED "THE SITUATION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES." FOLLOWING IS SCHEMATIC SUMMARY OF ARTICLE.

3. WHY THE UNION PARTIES LOST. STRAUSS CHARACTERIZES SPD/FDP MAJORITY AS "SMALL BUT WORKABLE" ("TRAGFAEHIG"), AND ATTRIBUTES COALITION'S VICTORY TO CHANCELLOR BONUS

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FACTOR. STRAUSS CLAIMS HE EXPECTED CDU/CSU VICTORY,

PLACING FAITH IN PREDICTIONS OF CDU LEADERS IN SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN AND LOWER SAXONY THAT CDU WOULD WIN 46 PER CENT OF VOTE IN FORMER AND APPROXIMATELY 50 PERCENT IN LATTER. IF THESE PREDICTIONS HAD BEEN REALIZED, CDU AND CSU WOULD HAVE OBTAINED EXTRA 1 PERCENT NEEDED FOR VICTORY. STRAUSS ALSO EXPRESSES REGRET THAT CDU DID NOT DO BETTER IN HAMBURG AND BREMEN. IN HIS VIEW, FAILURE OF CERTAIN CDU LEADERS TO MAKE "FREEDOM OR SOCIALISM" CENTRAL THEME OF CAMPAIGN IS CHIEF REASON FOR CDU/CSU FAILURE TO WIN MAJORITY. HE CONSIDERS "FREEDOM OR SOCIALISM" THE BASIC IDEOLOGICAL QUESTION FOR THE FRG IN FINAL QUARTER OF THIS CENTURY AND ASKS RHETORICALLY WHETHER ALL THOSE IN RANKS OF UNION PARTIES HAVE REALLY BECOME CONVINCED OF ITS CENTRAL IMPORTANCE.

4. PRESENT SITUATION. (A) PROBLEM OF FDP. FDP IS PRESENTLY UNABLE, SAYS STRAUSS, TO SWITCH COALITION PARTNERS BECAUSE 2/3 OF ITS PRESENT VOTERS ARE "ORIENTED TO THE LEFT" AND ARE NOT WORTH COURTING BY CDU/CSU. PROBLEM POSED BY FDP CAN ONLY BE OVERCOME IN TWO WAYS: THE FIRST, WHICH STRAUSS FINDS UNACCEPTABLE, WOULD REQUIRE THAT CDU AND CSU EMBRACE FDP'S PRESENT POSITIONS; SECOND WOULD REQUIRE ANSWER TO QUESTION HOW ONE CAN BRING ABOUT SITUATION WHERE REMAINING 1/3 OF FDP VOTERS, WHO ARE GENUINE LIBERALS, CAN BE DRAWN AWAY FROM THEIR SUPPORT OF PRESENT COALITION. (B) UNION PARTIES AND BUNDES RAT. UNION PARTIES MUST NOT, IN STRAUSS' VIEW, LOSE THEIR PRESENT MAJORITY IN BUNDES RAT THROUGH CDU/FDP COALITIONS IN SAARLAND AND LOWER SAXONY. NOTWITHSTANDING FACT THAT SUCH COALITIONS ARE OF GREAT REGIONAL IMPORTANCE. SITUATION IN WHICH SOME CDU LAENDER REPRESENTATIVES IN BUNDES RAT TAKE POSITIONS (ON PENDING LEGISLATION) WHICH DIFFER FROM POSITIONS TAKEN BY CDU AND CSU IN BUNDESTAG MUST BE PREVENTED.

5. PROPOSED STRATEGY FOR CDU/CSU. STRAUSS CALLS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF A CDU/CSU STRATEGY WHOSE SUPREME GOAL IS "NEITHER SEPARATION OF CDU AND CSU IN BUNDESTAG NOR A FOURTH PARTY." UNION STRATEGY "MUST BE TO WIN 249 MANDATES." IN ORDER TO DO SO, SAYS STRAUSS, CDU AND CSU MUST ATTRACT THE 25-33 PERCENT OF "LIBERAL VOTERS" IN FDP WHO COULD HAVE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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GUARANTEED A UNION VICTORY OCTOBER 3. HE ALSO NOTES THERE ARE LIBERAL VOTERS IN SPD WHOM CDU/CSU COULD ATTRACT. STRAUSS WARNS THAT IF CDU AND CSU WAIT COMPLACENTLY FOR POSSIBLE VICTORY IN 1980 OR 84 EUROPEAN SCENERY WILL PROBABLY BE CHANGED TO FRG'S DISADVANTAGE IN MEANTIME. FRG COULD BE CAUGHT BETWEEN USSR AND AN INCREASINGLY ASSERTIVE GDR, ON ONE SIDE, AND "VOLKSFRONT" GOVERNMENTS IN ITALY AND FRANCE ON OTHER. SUCH A SITUATION COULD LEAD

"REALISTS" IN FRG TO PURSUE POLICY OF ACCOMMODATION.
UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, STRAUSS BELIEVES THE CHINESE
LEADERSHIP'S VIEW THAT WEST WOULD BE FACED WITH CHOICE
OF A THIRD WORLD WAR OR SUBJUGATION TO THE USSR WOULD
BE FAR MORE CORRECT THAN HAD BEEN THOUGHT.

6. COMMENT: STRAUSS ARTICLE IS CLEARLY INTENDED TO BE
A MAJOR STATEMENT OF CSU STRATEGY FOR NEXT 3-4 YEARS.
IN ESSENCE, THIS STATEMENT IS AN ELABORATION OF THE
CAPSULE ANALYSIS STRAUSS PUT FORTH IN WEE HOURS OF
OCTOBER 4.

WE DO NOT THINK STRAUSS HAS RENOUNCED IDEA--
THREAT-- OF EXTENDING CSU BEYOND BAVARIA'S BORDERS OR
OF ESTABLISHING SEPARATE CSU FRAKTION IN BUNDESTAG.
WE LOOK FOR HIM TO CONTINUE TO THREATEN TO MAKE SUCH
MOVES WHENEVER HE BELIEVES THIS WILL INCREASE HIS LEVERAGE
WITH CDU. IN OUR JUDGMENT, STRAUSS DOES NOT WANT TO
CREATE CSU FOURTH PARTY MOVEMENT FOR ITS OWN SAKE BUT
WOULD NOT HESITATE TO DO SO IF HE THOUGHT HE COULD
ENHANCE CDU/CSU CHANCES OF COMING TO POWER AND AVOID
IRRECONCILABLE SPLIT WITH CDU.
WE DO NOT THINK IT ACCIDENTAL THAT STRAUSS AVOIDED
CRITICIZING BIEDENKOPF BOTH ON OCTOBER 4 AND IN PRESENT
ARTICLE. GILMORE

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